

AN ESSAY
ON THE
NATURAL HISTORY OF MANKIND,
VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH
NEGRO SLAVERY:

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,

14TH DECEMBER, 1850.

BY JOSIAH C. NOTT, M. D.

Mobile:
PRINTED BY DADE, THOMPSON & CO.

1851.



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A N E S S A Y.

WHEN we reflect on the remarkable advance made in other departments of science, and the many curious historical discoveries brought to light by antiquarian researches, even in the last ten years, it is not to be wondered at, that the Natural History of Man—one of the most interesting and important of all subjects—should at last take up the line of march, and assume its proper rank. Heretofore it has been confined very much to theologians and naturalists, and kept from the vulgar gaze, for the very obvious reason that it was supposed to involve questions of no less magnitude than the authenticity of the Bible, and the stability of the Christian Religion. A more wholesome spirit of investigation now, however, is beginning to prevail. The more enlightened feel assured that there can be no discrepancies between the Scriptures, properly interpreted, and the well-established truths of science; that the words and works of the Almighty cannot contradict each other, and that any apparent discordance must arise solely from false interpretations.

However unsettled and wavering opinions may have been respecting many points in the Natural History of Man, the curious facts which experience has been forcing upon us year after year, in this country particularly, as to the deep-rooted intellectual and physical differences seen around us, in the White, Red, and Black Races, are too obvious and too important in their bearings, to be longer overlooked; and are now forcing themselves upon the attention of statesmen, and making their way into legislative halls. These investigations are assuming a peculiar interest in our country, from their connection with certain absorbing political questions now deeply agitating the American people, and shaking the very existence of our Government to its foundations; and knowing that I have been engaged in the study

of the Natural History of Mankind, I have been requested to prepare and lay before you in a condensed form, an abstract of those facts and deductions, which have a practical bearing on the great issues now pending between the North and South.

I have complied with this request, because I do not think that any man, who is called upon in a time like this, when the Republic is in danger, has a right to withhold any information which might contribute in the remotest degree towards enlightening the public mind. I have the more readily consented, because I have long been convinced, that the views I have been promulgating for the last ten years, contained the only appeal, which could be made with any possible chance of success, to our Northern brethren. They have been told again and again, that the Constitution guaranteed to the South her slaves ; that this institution could not be eradicated without bringing desolation upon the South, and ruin to the North ; that the negroes themselves were happier here than they could be under any other circumstances ; that all experiments to improve the condition of this race by emancipation, had failed ; that we did not ask to interfere with the rights, or institutions, of the North, but only asked to be allowed to manage our own affairs, in our own way : but to these, and kindred arguments, our Northern brethren have turned a deaf ear, and have continued to heap injury and insult upon us. They have treated Slavery as an *abstract* question—as a thing above all Law and Constitution—to be decided upon broad principles of justice according to the dictates of that higher law, conscience.

I, therefore, as a last appeal, attempted to satisfy them, that they were guided by a mistaken and false philanthropy ; that the same God who had permitted Slavery to exist by His *Word*, had stamped the Negro Race with *permanent inferiority*, and that all attempts to elevate it above its proper grade, must eventuate in failure. But ignorance and fanaticism will not hearken to reason. The signs of the times cannot be mistaken. There is a great convulsion before us, the end of which God alone can see, and it is time that we should arouse from our lethargy, and prepare for the crisis. Let us take counsel together, without passion and without prejudice, and determine what we shall do to be saved. The lessons of Jamaica and Hayti are before us.

In all I have written heretofore about the Races, I have attempted as much as possible to confine myself to the *scientific* view of the subject, hoping that the facts once made out would gradually find their practical application through others; but the crisis is hastening with a rapidity that no one could have dreamed of at the opening of the Mexican war, and I now propose to pass over the intricacies of science—all the difficulties of antiquarian research—and to lay before you a few *results* of investigation, which are very generally *admitted* amongst men of science, and which are amply sufficient for our present purpose.

For obvious reasons, I would gladly have avoided collisions with sects whose religious opinions are entitled to respect, but the very nature of the subject forbid it; for when I took what I believe to be the only true and tenable ground, that the White, Red and Black Races are not descended from one pair, I came at once in contact with the very ground-work of their faith. Nothing had occurred for centuries to throw doubt, in the minds of Christians, over what seemed to be the teachings of Holy Writ, touching the *unity* of the human family, and it never occurred to them that any other construction could be put upon its language. Without stopping to inquire what new lights recent scientific researches had developed, or what was the character of these investigators, bulls were at once thundered against me: I was called an *infidel*—an enemy to religion, morality, law, &c. All this disturbed my equanimity but little, for I felt that I was *right*; that the facts developing were of incalculable importance in determining the future destiny of Races, and I was convinced that truths so clear, if held up boldly to the public eye, must, after a time, be received—and I was willing to abide my time with patience. I now have the satisfaction of seeing that the doctrine of *Diversity* of Races is taking hold upon the public mind even faster than I had hoped. Apart from the clergy, the naturalists every where are endorsing the opinions for which I am contending. Prof. Agassiz, the greatest naturalist living, is now delivering a course of public lectures in Boston in support of *Diversity* of Races. Drs. Morton and Pickering, the leading writers on this subject in America, are openly taking the same side, to say nothing of a large number of others not so well known to fame. The *Christian Examiner*, a very able periodical

in Boston, has been publishing some of the leading papers of M. Agassiz. The Democratic and Whig Reviews, published in New York; the Southern Quarterly, in Charleston; the Commercial Review, in New Orleans, and a host of other periodicals and journals, are publishing articles freely on this side. Many learned divines, in this country, and in Europe, regard this as an open question; and all who have paid any attention to the subject admit, at least, that the White and Black Races were as distinct 3000 years ago as they now are: and I hazard the assertion, that no subject of equal magnitude, and which had such a load of prejudice to carry, ever made such rapid progress as this has in the last five years.

The Bible was clearly intended, not as a book of science, but to teach mankind their duties towards each other, and towards their Maker; and the inspiration which guided the human beings who wrote it, though *full*, for all purposes intended, stopped very far short of *Omniscience*. It certainly will not be questioned that these writers gave no evidence whatever, of any scientific or geographical knowledge beyond that of their profane contemporaries. They regarded the earth as an extended plain, and spoke of its "sides and ends;" they knew nothing of its extent beyond that bordering on the Mediterranean Sea; they knew nothing of Southern Africa, Northern and Eastern Asia, the greater part of Europe, the whole of America, Australia, &c.: in a word, of nine-tenths of the inhabited globe. Even as late as the time of Christ, and for several centuries after, geographical knowledge extended little beyond the confines of the Roman Empire, and it can hardly be supposed that those writers knew any thing of Races whose *countries were unknown to them*. That many of these countries—and probably all—were populated, as far back as the time of Moses, by the same many-colored races which we now find in them, is abundantly proved, and will be conceded.

The wonderful truths of Astronomy and Geology, which were regarded as heresies; and whose promulgators, as enemies to religion and morality, might have slept in darkness, and still the practical ends of society might have been carried out without the aid of their light. Not so with the Natural History of Man: it mingles with the very elements of human progress, and involves the existence of civilization. Without viewing this subject in its widest range, including

the Asiatic hordes now pouring across the Pacific into our country, and other Races, let us narrow it down to our domestic circle; let us examine into the relative positions of the White and Black Races here, and ask what light does experience throw upon their destiny.

Here we are in the year 1850, the owners of three millions of Negro Slaves, and *without any agency of ours*; the mother country and the original colonies bequeathed them to us. When the Constitution was formed, this institution was recognized, and Slave States entered the Confederacy as equals, with Constitutional guarantees for their property, and would have formed the copartnership on no other terms. All experience proves that the Negroes cannot be emancipated without bringing want, misery and barbarism upon them. It is clear, too, that these Negroes cannot be liberated without destroying the prosperity, happiness and political power of the Southern States; and yet we are scoffed at and insulted, as outside barbarians, for perpetuating this institution, though no one has ever proposed a scheme by which these slaves can be emancipated, with safety to the Whites, and with benefit to them. Such conduct is unjust—is insulting, and not to be tolerated by men worthy of liberty.

Few persons realize the fact taught by history, that it is infinitely more difficult to *destroy*, or alter great political or social institutions, than to *create* them.

Were the question now an open one, (though we are satisfied that the Negroes are in an infinitely better condition here than in Africa, or any where else) and the proposition were made to any Slave State, to introduce Negroes from Africa, it would find no favor in any quarter. This is exemplified by the opposition which new States are making every day to Negro Slavery. But when a scheme is called for, by which three millions can be liberated, the whole question is changed; difficulties spring up, for which no human sagacity has yet been able to propose a remedy.

All Constitutions and all Laws are restrictions upon human liberty; but as human nature is constituted, they are *necessary* evils. Every member of society is compelled, for the benefit of himself and others, to sacrifice a portion of his time, his labor, and his property, and to regulate his actions, to some extent, by prescribed rules: to secure a portion of liberty, he must give up a part; and circumstances

beyond the control of a generation, usually control the partition of good and evil. There must necessarily exist in every country, the two classes of the governors and the governed. Forms of Government are not abstractions emanating from leading minds, but are the creatures of circumstances; and we find in every country widely different institutions, and modes of thought. Nations differ as much from each other in these things, as they do in the physical types of their people, and the one is just as inexplicable to us as the other. Good and evil are every where sown broad cast together, though in different proportions, and it is seldom that we can pluck out tares without taking wheat along with them. Look at England—now the greatest nation of the earth—whose institutions have best stood the test of time, and brought the most happiness to her people. Her church system is a mockery on Christianity, and a moral wrong—her nobility is a wrong—her law of primogeniture is a wrong—her system of taxation is a wrong, &c., and her people have struggled in vain against them: yet how can these wrongs be extirpated, without destroying the whole fabric, and planting anarchy and desolation on its ruins? They are vital organs of the body politic.

Look at the mighty and bloody struggles which France has been making for more than half a century to throw off the evils which have been incorporated in *her* institutions—which have become a part of her nature, and which never can be changed till she becomes a conquered nation, and new elements are set in motion.

China and India have their peculiar institutions, which have existed (because they have not been molested by other races) for several thousand years; and I might thus go on and review the world's history, but the facts are self-evident when stated. The same train of reasoning applies clearly to our Southern States: Negro Slavery has been planted here by our forefathers; this institution has grown up with us from our infancy; it has become a part of our very being; our national prosperity and domestic happiness are inseparable from it. The fate of the master and servant are indissolubly united; and even admitting that Negro Slavery is an evil, it is one not to be rashly touched, but must be left to that God who, through a succession of miracles, led the Israelites out from their bondage in Egypt.

The time of deliverance for the Negro Slaves, if a better destiny awaits them, has not yet come; nor will the Lord call forth a Moses from the ranks of the Seward and Geo. Thompsons. His chosen people were afflicted with much longer and more cruel bondage than have been our blacks, and had to abide the fullness of time.

The question of *Unity of Races* is still one of dispute, and although I have again and again publicly avowed my belief that all the inhabitants of the earth are not descended from one pair, yet it is not a part of my present purpose here, to *insist* upon this point. This opinion, whether true or false, comes into collision with the religious convictions of those who are entitled to my full respect, and as it is not *necessary* to the establishment of those practical conclusions to which I wish to lead you, I should prefer not to prejudice our cause by it. My desire here is to deal solely with those *results* which have been *established* by scientific investigators; which are conceded by all well-informed parties, and to lay before you facts which will enable you to judge fairly for yourselves.

When we cast our eyes over the broad surface of our globe, we are struck by the fact that each grand division has its animals, its birds, its plants, its fossils, &c., which have not originated from a common centre, but which have been created, we are told by all the naturalists of our day in the localities where they are now found. The varieties of *men alone*, it is still contended by some naturalists, form an exception to this general law. No matter by what hypothesis the Diversity of Varieties in the human family may be explained, the fact remains, that the White, the Black, the Yellow, the Red Races, &c., according to the earliest records of history, and monumental records, *existed with their present types several thousand years ago*. This much will not be denied by any authority, and it is not important to our present object to carry these distinct types farther back. We may leave out speculative points, and deal with facts; and the only rational mode of judging the future is by our knowledge of the past: for the laws of nature operate through ages with wonderful uniformity. We repeat, then, that not only do the histories of Rome, Greece and other early nations, show that different Races existed more than two thousand years ago, but that we have had brought to light in the last five years, portraits of the different Asiatic

and African Races, whose dates unquestionably reach back four thousand years. This is not an opinion confined to scientific investigators alone, but is avowed by those theologians of all denominations who are now turning their attention to the study of Egyptian Antiquities.

If these Races have really been distinct for so many ages, the next point of inquiry is, whether there are any known climatic, or other physical agencies, that can transform one type into another, as the White man into the Negro, Mongol, or Indian? This idea, though very generally received at one time, is now abandoned by all modern naturalists, from Pritchard down to the Rev. Dr. Bachman.

A new hypothesis sprung up from the ruins of the old one, equally untenable, but which is still held on to by a few who are determined not to yield to any proof. This party tell us that when the Almighty created man, he planted in him a certain organic law which predisposed him, under certain unknown influences, to change type, and run into what has been termed *congenital* or *accidental* varieties, which may continue to propagate and be perpetuated. An example will illustrate this more clearly to you: It is *assumed*, that *our* continent was peopled from the old world by White, Mongol, or other Races; and it is again *assumed*, that in obedience to this hidden law, at some subsequent period, these congenital or accidental varieties began to spring up; little genuine Indians were born from the White, or Mongol parents; and in the course of time, multiplied, overspread the whole continent, and rooted out entirely the original type. Although all this is bare assumption, without an example in history to prove it, and a strong chain of facts to refute it, yet this is (apart from the Bible) the *sole ground* on which the Unity of the Races reposes. All the recent advocates of Unity of Races, of any authority, from Pritchard to Bachman, agree substantially on this point. Dr. Bachman, who is better posted up in the natural history part of this controversy than his *confreres*, tells us that these "*permanent varieties*" occurred soon after the creation, and long before the dawn of history. He does not pretend that any of the new types, as the Negro, Mongol, Malay, Indians, Australians, &c., (supposing the Caucasian to be the original type) have sprung up within the last three or four thousand years. He knows enough about history, and the monuments of Egypt to keep him out of such blunders as these.

While it is conceded, even by the advocates of Unity of Races, that history affords no example of the transformation of one type of men into another, they are compelled to concede on the other hand that we have numerous well-authenticated examples, of *permanence of type under the most opposite climatic influences*. Races have removed from their original abodes to distant lands where they have been subjected to the most opposite climates, modes of life, diet, &c., and yet have remained unchanged in type for hundreds of years. We all know that climate produces very decided effects on men and animals, but there is a limit to its influence. We see the fair-skinned Germans, Englishmen, &c., tanned and emaciated by Southern climates, but their children for generations continue to be born fair, and they never approximate the type of Indians or other dark Races. Nor can the horse be changed into the ass or zebra.

The Jews, whose blood has been kept purer than any other Race—who have consequently preserved better their original type—who are more widely scattered, and whose history is best known, afford the most striking illustration of the truth of my assertion. It should be borne in mind, however, that this race has not escaped adulteration, and that every individual professing the Jewish religion and following their customs, is not *necessarily* of pure blood, and we thus have a satisfactory explanation for the varieties of faces seen amongst them; but wherever a well-marked Jewish face is presented to us, we never for a moment think of doubting that it has been handed down in a direct line from father Abraham, who lived about three thousand five hundred years ago, and we never see the Jewish lineaments, except where we have every reason to believe there is *Jewish blood*. Has it ever occurred to any man to call in question these facts? This people have been scattering and wandering over the habitable globe since the captivity of the Ten Tribes, now more than twenty-five hundred years, and yet, though fairer in the North and darker in the South than in their native land, are every where unmistakable Israelites. We see them distinctly portrayed on Egyptian monuments three thousand years ago, with the identical features they now present, through more than one hundred generations, and which they doubtless received from their venerable progenitor. The most remarkable well-authenticated example of perma-

nence of type on record, perhaps, is that of the White Jews of Malabar, in India, who have been living among the dark-skinned, small-headed Hindoos for at least fifteen hundred years, without approximating in the slightest degree the type of the native Race. This fact is now beyond controversy.

Another striking example may be found in that peculiar and mysterious race, the Gypsies: they have been scattered for at least four hundred and fifty years, (nearly twenty generations) through all climates, and amongst all nations; exposed to want, misery and suffering, in every shape; subjected, in the highest degree, to all those physical causes which are said to change Races: yet, like the Jews, retaining their peculiar type, habits, customs, and even peculiar language. Unlike the Jews, they have never taken part in the march of civilization, but have every where kept themselves isolated, and their blood almost pure. Like the Hindoos, (of which they are a tribe) they have much smaller heads than the Hebrews, and other White Races, and their lives and characters have been the result of an inferior organization, which they received from the Almighty. Intellectual activity and progression belong to the very nature of the Jewish Race; intellectual quietude and dislike belong to the Hindoo Races.

The noble Magyars, who played such an important part in the recent Hungarian struggle, might be cited as another example of preservation of type. They belong to the great Tartar subdivision of the Caucasian family, and detached themselves about the year 880, A. D. (one thousand years ago) from their Asiatic connections, advancing into Europe under their chief, Arphad. There are now in Hungary three millions, five hundred thousand, of this race; and we here see them still preserving their original type in one of the finest portions of Europe, where the fairest skins of Teutonic type flourish in perfection.

But it does not enter into our present design to enumerate a tithe of the examples of permanence of type, with which history abounds. The point is conceded, and these are quite sufficient. You have ample evidence around you at home. The Red men of America, who have had this continent to themselves for hundreds, and probably thousands, of years, preserve (with a few exceptions, which can be accounted for by immigrations, &c.) substantially one complexion, and one type, from the Arctic to Cape Horn. No influence of cli-

mate on them is any where observable. And who, during the eight or ten generations that the Whites and Blacks have been in this country, has ever seen a child or adult approximate the Aboriginal type, or expects that such an approximation ever will occur? What may have taken place, under the special providence of God, as Dr. Bachman suggests, far back in the night of time, before the earliest dawn of history, we may leave to his speculations, and those of his amiable compeer, Dr. Snyth. Our design here, is to treat this subject in a plain, practical manner; to judge the future by what we *know* of the past. Certainly any sensible man will concede, that we must expect, that the same laws of nature which have been operating for the last few thousand years, will continue to operate for the coming thousand, unless the existing creation is destroyed, and a new one put in its place. In plain English, we must take it for granted, that the Negro will preserve for ages to come, the same physical type which we know characterized him ages ago. Dr. Bachman, who has left no stone unturned to find an argument in favor of Unity of Races, tells us, that the Negro is a "*permanent variety*," that he is "*incapable of self-government*," and that *no causes exist which can bring a permanent variety back to its original type*: once a Negro, always a Negro, unless the Race branches off into entirely new types, which there is no reason to expect.

The point being settled, then, that the *physical* characteristics of the Races of men are widely and permanently different, it would seem to follow as a corollary, that there are also differences or grades in their moral and intellectual faculties, since these faculties are dependent on certain organizations. Every tree brings forth fruit in obedience to this law. The Creator, when he called these Races into being; when he stamped upon them different colors, different formations of brain, &c., stamped upon the Negro at the same time *intellectual inferiority*, which cannot be changed, until his whole organization is changed. The various species of the horse kind, the cat kind, and every genus, have faculties and instincts peculiar to each, and we never talk of changing these. The same holds in Mankind: From the remotest epoch recorded in history—from the remotest glimmering of tradition—what are generically termed the *Caucasian Races*, have been the repositories of civilization, and have been

steadily pushing it on from age to age, and from nation to nation. Though there have been times when these Races have been plunged in ignorance and barbarism, yet it is no less certain that these well-constructed brains were but slumbering, and ready to rouse up at the call of civilization. Commence at Ancient Egypt, where we reach our first knowledge of civilization, dating back far beyond the time at which the Book of Genesis was written: let us trace it on from this point around the Mediterranean, where ignorance and barbarism reigned, to the pillars of Hercules. Moses, who Holy Writ tells us, was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," carried it to Judea, which afterwards formed a part of the great Assyrian Empire, and civilization; follow it on through Phœnicia, Greece, Italy, Gaul, Germany, Spain, Britain, &c., where it found rude and barbarous people, and see how promptly they responded to the call. These Races, which Nature's God designed for the rulers of the world, were endowed with the physical and moral characters which were necessary to receive the spark, and to feed the fire which was destined to roll on. But when this current of civilization, which had been widening and deepening as it ran through the Caucasian Races, crossed the Atlantic and was brought to the Aborigines of America, they recoiled from its very contact; and no effort on the part of the Whites has ever been able to tame them. They obeyed the laws of their organization.

Let us, on the other hand, take a glance at the history of African Races. The population of that continent is estimated at little short of one hundred millions, of which, fifty-five millions are Negro Races; and yet, except in the Barbary States, Egypt, Abyssinia, Nubia, &c., which are populated by other Races, not a monument, not a record, not even a tradition exists, to mark the birth or death of civilization. This whole continent, south of the great Desert of Sahara, is a perfect blank in the world's history. The Negro Races were in close commercial intimacy with ancient Egypt and Carthage, in their palmiest days; they have continued their intercourse with Egypt and the Barbary States, down to the present day; they have had missionaries sent to them for centuries, and colonies established among them: in short, they have had every facility and every temptation held out which a people could ask, and still the first step towards civ-

ilization is not made. ✓ No Negro Race has ever yet invented an alphabet, however rude, or possessed the semblance of literature. What does all this mean? Can any rational being believe that any time or efforts can civilize a people embracing so many millions, and who have resisted all external impulses for more than two thousand years?

A capital error—which has been received without reflection, or investigation, and which has misled many of the most enlightened and zealous philanthropists of the past and the present—is the idea that cultivation, through a series of generations, can expand the defective brains, develope the intellectual faculties of the Negro Races, and thus raise them *by degrees* to the full standard of excellence which belongs to the Caucasian Races: that they can, in a word, be fully civilized, and fitted for self-government, in its highest and most complicated forms; that a black King, Lords and Commons, could wield the mighty machinery of the British Empire! A greater delusion never entered the mind of a sane man; and how it ever got into vogue, with all history, all science, and all common sense against it, would be difficult to divine. Absurd religious opinions alone can explain it.

I would ask any man who has a pair of eyes, and a sane mind, to look around him at home, and see what education can, and what it cannot do. Have white boys of the educated class larger brains than the opposite class? Are the children of the educated class more susceptible of cultivation than the opposite? Have the Kings and Nobility of England, and other countries, better formed heads—are they more intellectual? Are their children more susceptible of cultivation than the lower classes? So far from the Nobility possessing more intellect than the lower classes, is not the fact notorious that leading minds are constantly springing up from the sons of the hardy agriculturists, mechanics, &c.? The heads of the Ancient Germans (the progenitors of the Anglo-Saxon Race) were, in the time of Cæsar, when they were barbarians, as large and well formed as those of their descendants of the present day, and required no “expansion.” The wild Circasians of the mountains, and the wandering Arabs of the Desert, we know, have as finely formed heads as any in the world, though they have been uncultivated for ages. Baron Larrey, who dissected them frequently during Napoleon’s Egyptian Campaign, says the

Arabs have the finest heads he ever saw. No one will deny that the brains of these Races require no development by education through successive generations. Their brains are already full grown, and ready to receive the highest intellectual cultivation. They are only kept down by the unfavorable circumstances under which they are placed. Look around you, again, at the Negro Races: their physical type is peculiar; their grade of intellect is greatly inferior; they are utterly wanting in moral and physical energy. Education—though it may improve the individual to a limited extent, by giving him new ideas—cannot change his organization; cannot expand his brain; cannot produce an improvement in the individual, which will extend its influence to his children: in short, can do nothing towards transforming an inferior into a superior race, and thus overturn a fixed law of nature.

Some of the Aboriginal Tribes of America, as the Toltecs, while isolated from all external aids, have achieved a semi-civilization. The Mongols, Hindoos, &c., under similar circumstances, have gone a step farther; but the Negroes, when left to themselves, have risen but little above the beasts of the field. No pure-blooded Negro has ever risen above the grade of mediocrity in the Whites. The notorious Toussaint Louverture, of Hayti, is the most remarkable Negro in history, and though showing extraordinary powers, for a Negro, would have left no name as a White man, and was a brute in morals. He was unquestionably dark, but I have not been able to get any accurate information about his pedigree and precise race.

It has been asserted, that no *White* Race in a state of barbarism has ever achieved civilization, till the impulse came from without; till it was brought to them. They had no power to create it: Greece, Rome, Gaul, Germany, Spain, Britain, &c., have been cited as examples, and even if we grant the assertion which is not proven, it will not be denied that they received the boon with open arms, when it was once laid before them. And where, let me ask, has any *White* Race of antiquity had proffered to them such advantages for making a successful beginning, as the *Aborigines* of America, or the *Negroes* of Hayti. Why have the *Indians*, unlike those barbarous *White* Races, melted away or fled before the contact of civilization, as if there was poison in its very breath? In Hayti, a large portion of the *Mulat-*

toes and Negroes were educated ; they possessed one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in the world, and admirably suited to their constitutions ; they were well-versed in agriculture, the mechanic arts, navigation, and had already a rich commerce at their doors ; and yet they have been steadily retrograding, till they have sunk into hopeless barbarism. Look at the condition of the Free Negroes in our Free States ! Although a large proportion of them are educated, not one has yet risen up to vindicate his race against the charge of inferiority. The nearest advance this race has ever made to civilization *has been in Slavery*, where it has been restrained in its evil propensities, and led, like children, in the right path. Negroes are creatures to be guided by imitation, or restrained by kindness or force ; and as soon as left alone, like children, they follow their instincts and impulses, which soon lead them back into their natural savage state.

I might go on and extend these reflections indefinitely, by adding illustrations from other races, as the Mongols, who we know in China have preserved their peculiar physical type, peculiar institutions, peculiar writing characters, language, literature, &c., for five thousand years ; but this would lead beyond our prescribed limits. I could show, as before stated, that the Caucasian, Mongol, African, and even American Races presented, several thousand years ago, the same types and grades in the social scale, which they still preserve.

If, then, the Negro Races stand at the lowest point in the scale of human beings, and we know of no moral or physical agencies which can redeem them from their degradation, it is clear that they are incapable of self-government, and that any attempt to improve their condition is warring against an immutable law of nature.

This brings us to the great practical questions, what is to be the fate of the three millions of Negro slaves now in our Southern States ? And what is to be *our* destiny, which is indissolubly linked with theirs ? Here we have stood with our arms folded year after year, suffering aggression after aggression from the North, till the cordon is now drawn around us ; and looking calmly at the growth of evils which ere long must inevitably end in bloodshed. There are appalling issues before us which must be met, and the results

of which no human wisdom can foretell. The slaves double by natural increase every thirty years, and this ratio would give us fifty millions, in little more than a century ; a rapidity of increase which no scheme of philanthropy ever yet proposed by emancipationists could keep pace with. The Northern Abolitionists are acting under the influence of ignorance and fanaticism, and there may, therefore, be some palliation for their offences ; but for us of the South, who are familiar with the black races and know how impracticable all proposed schemes of emancipation are, there can be no excuse for *our* supineness. We could not educate the millions of slaves amongst us, for they would be unfit for slavery, and dangerous to us, while they would still be unfit for liberty : and admitting that cultivation could improve their intelligence, a century would be but a beginning in the work of regeneration. Many centuries would elapse, admitting its possibility, before the work could be completed ; and it is expecting too much of human nature, to suppose that one Race will sacrifice itself during so many generations, for the sole benefit of another.

Well, suppose the slaves to be educated as far as practicable, and prepared for emancipation, what then could be done with them ? The Free States are passing laws every where to protect themselves against the influx of Free Negroes, and very soon the barrier around us will be complete. It is clear, that the three millions of slaves now at the South, could not be turned loose upon *us*. Would a single man in Alabama vote to turn loose the three hundred thousand Negroes within *her* borders, upon any terms which could be proposed ?

It is evident, then, that if the Negroes in the Slave States are permitted to exist at all on this continent, it can be no where but in *Slave States*, and no where *but in Slavery*, with all their fearful increase. Can any one deny this assertion ? The number which would escape to Free States, would be too small to effect materially the result, and the time is fast approaching when *all* the Free States will pass prohibitory laws against this population ; for they know, as well as we do, that a large Free Negro population—which is an indolent, improvident, vicious, non-producing class—could not be tolerated. It is, therefore, evident, that we should have to provide for the evil at home, however incurable, or look to Liberia as a safety valve.

It has been seriously suggested by some, and by Sir Chas. Lyell, amongst others, that the Negroes should be gradually educated and emancipated at home, and allowed to amalgamate with the Whites ; and thus be absorbed and become a part of our flesh and bone, and a part of our civilization. This proposition is not only insulting and revolting to us, but is overruled by other objections. ✓ There is no doubt that the intellectual grade of the Negro Races may be greatly improved by crossing them with the Whites, but it must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that the White Races would be *dragged down* by the adulteration, and their civilization destroyed. We see now how difficult it is for the purest Races of the earth to maintain anything like rational governments ; and what would become of our institutions, in the hands of Mulattoes ? A great aim of philanthropy should be, to keep the ruling Races of the world as pure and as wise as possible, for it is only through them that the others can be made prosperous and happy. Look at Hayti, where the Mulatto caste governed feebly for a time : their movement was constantly retrograde, until finally, dragged down by the pure blacks, they were exterminated, or driven away. That beautiful island is now plunged into a perfectly savage state, and I am credibly informed by an eye-witness that he, on two occasions, saw the Negroes roasting and eating Dominican prisoners on the road side !

It being certain, then, (accumulating with the rapidity we have stated) that the slaves of the Southern States *must have* an outlet at no very distant day, in some direction—let us revert to the proposed colonization in Africa. This is a scheme which has occupied the serious attention, and met with the full approval, of all the leading men of the North, and not a few of those at the South ; and though fully convinced of its impracticability, I shall be glad to see the experiment now making with Free Negroes fairly carried out, as I am convinced it will serve to prove the correctness of the views I have advanced.

It is utterly inconceivable to my mind, how so many men of intelligence could be led to favor a scheme so impracticable, with the history of the two Races open before them. There Africa stands with her fifty millions of blacks, and there she has stood for the last five thousand years, with this people occupying the same countries, without one step

towards civilization; and all the experiments in the United States, the West Indies, &c., have failed. The boon has been presented to them in every possible shape, and they have never been able to grasp it. Is not the delusion the more extraordinary, when we see sensible men in this country and Europe fostering, with confident hopes, the Republic of Liberia—while they laugh at the absurdity of the French nation, one of the most intellectual in the world, in attempting to make a Republican, or any other rational form of Government!

It is far from my feelings, or design, to misrepresent the facts connected with this scheme of colonization, for it has been approved by many of the wisest and best men of our country; but still I fear we have been grossly deceived, not only by bad, but by well-meaning men, at home, as well as in Africa. Letters and statements are published from Liberia; speeches are made before the Colonization Society in Washington, and published in the *National Intelligencer*, giving the most poetic accounts of the intelligence, morality and refinement of the Black Colonists, and the rapid progress of civilization in Liberia. I have good reason to believe that these statements are utterly untrue, and a moment's reflection would bring any thinking man to the same conclusion. Can any one believe that such a change would come over four or five thousand ignorant, stupid, and for the most part, vicious Free Negroes, in a few years? "The first settlement was made by Free Negroes from the United States, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, in the year 1820," and this class *there*, is the same as we see it *around us here*, every day; and we know full well the nature of the material on which these mighty changes are to be wrought. Some of them have made their way back to the United States in disgust, and contradict the statements given. A lamented friend, who died in Mobile a few years ago, (Dr. Mechlin) and who lived in Liberia five years—a part of which time he was Governor of that Colony—told me that he regarded the experiment as a failure, and that he saw no hope of ever rendering the Negro Race fit for self-government; and no one who knew this gentleman ever doubted his honesty or intelligence.

The Colony, so far, has only been held together by the fostering care of the Colonization Society, and support of

foreign Governments. It is governed too directly by the White Agents of the Society, and by the White blood coursing through the veins of the Mulatto leaders amongst the Colonists. President Roberts, who was once a blacksmith in Petersburg, Virginia, I am informed by those who know him well, is three-fourths White blood, with florid complexion, red hair, and disagreeable expression of countenance. He is represented as "a keen, shrewd, designing fellow, who is turning matters in Liberia to his own account." Most of the other leading men are also Mulattoes. The Colonists have had many difficulties to contend with, but if the history of Races teaches any thing, the delusion will probably not last much longer.

Slavery is already virtually abolished in the District of Columbia. In consequence of the incessant agitation in Congress, and the growth of the Abolition party, this species of property has become insecure—and the slave owners, from prudential motives, have been ridding themselves of their slaves, who are now reduced to but a handful. Even in Baltimore, by the Census of 1840, out of twenty thousand Negroes, there were but three thousand slaves, and this drain is going on in all the frontier Slave States, while the slaves are emptied into the Gulf States. Few realize the rapidity with which this process is going on. In Alabama, there were in 1820 but forty-one thousand slaves ; in 1830, they had increased to one hundred and seventeen thousand ; in 1840, the number had reached two hundred and fifty-three thousand ! and it remains to see what the census of 1850 will show. How long will it be before Alabama must pass and enforce laws against the farther introduction of slaves ? The slaves double in thirty years, by natural increase, and with the immigration, our children will see around them in this short period, at least one million. All the Cotton and Sugar States will be in the same crowded condition, and each will be passing laws for its own protection. Kentucky is already agitating the question of Abolition within her own borders, and it requires no prophet's eye to see that emancipation is inevitable in all the farming States, where White labor can be advantageously used.

These reflections afford ample field for sober consideration. What disposition God, in his providence, will eventually make of these Blacks, cannot be foretold ; but it is our

duty to provide for our own happiness and theirs, as long as we can. In dealing with this question, it will not do to be guided by abstract notions of liberty and slavery. We can only judge the future by the past ; and as experience proves that the Negro is better off in slavery at the South, than in freedom elsewhere, it is the part of philanthropy to keep him there, as we keep our children in subjection for their own good.

Let us now take a retrospect of the ground we have passed over, and present, in a condensed form, the conclusions which may be deduced :

1st. It is conceded on all hands, that the Negroes have existed, with their present physical types, for at least four thousand years ; that there is no evidence that they have anywhere during this time achieved civilization ; that they have always shown inferior intelligence, and occupied the lowest grade in the scale of nations ; and that they have always been the slaves of petty princes in Africa, by whom, and their parents, they have been sold to slavery in foreign nations.

2d. There is no example on record, to prove that climate, or any combination of known external agencies, can change a White Race into Negroes, or *vice versa*. This opinion, as far as I know, (and few books on the subject have escaped me) is sustained by every naturalist of repute of the present day.

3d. Though often asserted, there is not an atom of proof in the world's history, to show that a Race can be changed by cultivation, and raised in intelligence, from the lowest to the highest grade. The Negro, the Mongol, and Caucasian Races have maintained their relative grades, we *know*, from the Christian era to the present time, through all vicissitudes.

4th. From the past history of the Negroes, not a single fact or argument can be drawn to encourage the belief that the slaves of the United States can be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, with a prospect of improving their condition ; while there is ample reason to believe that it would bring incalculable evils upon them.

5th. That the slaves now in our Southern States must continue, with all their increase, to exist here as slaves, or be driven off to die of want and misery elsewhere.

These are stubborn facts, which cannot be gainsaid, and whose importance to the people of the United States cannot

be overestimated. Knowing how utterly useless it is to hold up to Northern demagogues and fanatics, the Constitution, as a shield against their unceasing attacks upon our institutions, I have presented these facts in various shapes, again and again, hoping that if they were not willing to be bound by the terms of the Federal Compact—were not willing to listen to the claims of justice—they would at least hearken to these appeals, when sustained by the voice of humanity. Though they may view slavery as an abstract wrong, they cannot *deny* with reason, that *here*, it is a practical blessing to the Negro.

And now, in conclusion, let me conjure you to ponder well on the plain facts I have given you, and ask yourselves, what bright hope does the future hold out? Have we not arrived at a crisis in our affairs when it becomes us to break down all old party barriers, and to meet and take counsel together, and provide for the common danger which stands before us like the sun at noon-day. The cordon of Free States around us is now completed; our domain is but a fraction of the territory of the United States; the political and fanatical feelings of the Free States, and the prejudices of the whole civilized world are arrayed against us; without having violated the laws of God, the laws of our country, or the laws of humanity, we are looked upon as an outlawed and disgraced people, awaiting the execution of the sentence which is pronounced against us. The time is long passed when we were regarded as equals in the Confederacy, and the so-called Union meetings at the North are not dictated by veneration for the Constitution, by any feeling of brotherly love, or by any desire to elevate us in the respect of mankind. We are simply *tolerated*, from pecuniary considerations.

I am no politician, and did not come here to stimulate party strife; nor did I come to propose remedies for past wrongs, or for the dangers which stand before us. I would leave these to wiser and more experienced heads than mine. I came to lay before you important facts drawn from the physical history of Races, which have been lost sight of in the discussions on Slavery, and to draw your attention to dangers which are ripening, and ought to be anticipated. I came to show, that, whatever blame may attach to our ancestors for establishing this institution here, the *perpetuation*

of slavery is no sin ; that we could not, as philanthropists, get clear of it if we would, and that we are entitled to the full respect of the Christian world. But I will say, that if any man wishes to find the strongest of all arguments for a severance of this Union, and for the formation of a Southern Confederacy, he may deduce it from the chain of facts I have detailed. We have no friends, no sympathisers, no protectors on earth ; and if the North goes on in the course she has been steadily pursuing for the last fifteen years, the South, ere long, will be compelled to protect herself, and to carve an outlet for her Negroes with the sword, from the territory which has been plundered from her. There is a higher law than the consciences of Seward and Thompson—the law of self-preservation. We now pay tribute to the sword which overhangs and threatens us ; and the time, I fear, is not far distant, when we shall need a purse and sword of our own, to protect ourselves against foreign and domestic enemies.

We should not be lulled into false security by that delusive word, *Compromise*—or by hosannas sung to an unjust Government. The Constitution, itself—the Missouri line—the Tariff of 1842, were all compromises between the North and the South, and how have these compromises been respected?

Let it be remembered, too, that the “Omnibus Bill”—which is but a mockery, under the name of *Compromise*—was passed by *Southern*, and not by Northern votes, as “the best bargain they could get.” It is openly claimed by Mr. Clay, and his Freesoil party, that this *Compromise* takes away from the South every foot of conquered territory. The Legislature of Vermont has already declared herself against the *Compromise*; the Governor of Ohio is already out for repeal ; the Seward, the Hales, the Giddings, the Phillips, the George Thompsons, are in the field, urging on their mad schemes, and backed by all the religious sects of the North. I ask where, in the world’s history, did such a volcano of fanaticism ever cease to burn, till quenched by blood ?

The last safeguard of the Slave States—the right of *secession*—is now denied by the Government. One set of States claim the power to decide on the reserved rights of other States, and to enforce this decision at the mouth of

the cannon. Does any man here believe that the South will yield this point without a struggle?

A deep feeling of distrust towards the North now pervades the whole South—and the most confiding must admit, that doubt and uncertainty enshroud the future. I may be wrong, and pray Heaven that I am, but my solemn conviction is, that events are fast ripening, which must end in blood; and under this conviction, I would say to this Association, that I think one of their most prominent objects should be, to urge upon the Legislature, the establishment of a Military School—a better organization of the Militia—a provision for all the munitions of war, &c. It is an old maxim, that, the best way to maintain peace, is to be prepared for war.

Yes, my friends, disguise it as you will, our situation is full of appalling dangers, and we should awake to them. Truly and eloquently has that mad fanatic, George Thompson, exclaimed:

“A voice has spoken in the ear of this mighty nation, and “has said,

‘Sleep no more!
Slavery has murdered sleep.’

“It is unnecessary for me to enter upon historical details. “Most, if not all, of you have been living witnesses of the “progress of the cause. Some of you have been conspicuous actors in the sublime drama which is still unfolding its “scenes, deepening in interest as they advance in the stage “of the civilized world.

“The question is up—the contest is begun—the combat “thickens—the battle becomes grand—it will be grander “still—it will be the greatest and grandest ever fought on “earth, and its consequences the most momentous and far-reaching of any that have ever followed from a war of “principles since the world began.

“Slavery! it is the theme of every newspaper. It is the “topic of debate in every legislative hall. It lengthens the “sittings of Congress. It allows your Senators but two “hours’ rest at night. It mixes with your soil. It determines your boundary lines. It is that word in every new “Constitution which causes the mightiest intellects in the “land to grapple with each other, in passionate and unyielding conflict. It is the pivot upon which every election “turns. It decides the complexion of every ticket placed in

“ the ballot-box. It is the test of membership in Churches,
 “ It is the cause of divisions in communities. It leads to
 “ new combinations of political parties. It makes and un-
 “ makes Bishops. It changes Whigs into Democrats, and
 “ both into Freesoilers. It is the interpreter of the tables
 “ of stone given to Moses, and of the precepts to brotherly
 “ love uttered by Jesus. It meets the Priest on the steps of
 “ the Altar—the Preacher on the stairs of the Pulpit—the
 “ Merchant on the busy Exchange—and the New England
 “ Farmer, when a hungry, naked wanderer asks in the name
 “ of it and humanity for shelter for the night.

“ Is it nothing, my friends, that all this has been brought,
 “ to pass in twenty years? Is it nothing that an obsolete
 “ and buried Christianity has been exhumed, and sent forth,
 “ like a refining fire, to purify this land from the curse of
 “ slavery.”

Yes, the evil-doers are up and at work night and day, and it is time for us of the South to arouse from our long and chilling slumber. The spirit of Liberty, the spirit of Philanthropy, the spirit of Christianity, aye, and the ghosts of the murdered Whites of St. Domingo rise up—shake their gory locks at you—and bid you, “ *Sleep no more.*”

NOTE.—For an extension of these views, see my “Two Lectures on the Biblical and Physical History of Man,” and several articles in the Southern Quarterly Review.

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